

Jim Edwards and the dredging, page 3

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Human Affairs Commission: At the crossroads

by Bob Thompson

The state Human Affairs Commission loomed like an oasis in a desert of discrimination when it was created three years ago. It was the first state agency with a black person heading it. And, considering the impracticality and inconvenience of taking discrimination complaints to federal anti-bias agencies such as the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, South Carolina's numerous victims of discrimination had a new and promising place to turn.

But what "could have been one of the best indications of a color-blind administration," according to one black leader, has been running into problems of its own in the last three years. Critics, both within and outside of the Commission, have charged that political considerations have hampered its bias-fighting efforts. A feminist organization has claimed that the Human Affairs Commission, the professed protector against discrimination, has itself practiced discrimination in the hiring of a new commissioner. And the new commissioner, a young black man, has been criticized for an alleged lack of understanding of blacks' needs and for conflicts of interest.

The Human Affairs Commission has had its share of problems since it was begun in 1971. The same could be expected of any brand spanking new state agency without any heritage of traditions, or policies, or personnel on which to draw; it takes a period of give-and-take, of trial and error, to determine where a new agency's powers and responsibilities lie, who will carry them out, and how. But the Human Affairs Commission has been handicapped from the very beginning by the vague law by which the General Assembly established it, and by frequent lack of cooperation by the agencies, departments, and firms it polices.

The idea for a state commission to investigate discrimination in all its forms was conceived during the 1970 gubernatorial election campaign. Isaac Williams, state field director of the NAACP, gives credit for the idea to himself, Paul Matthias of the S.C. Council on Human Relations, Hayes Mizell of the American Friends Service Committee, and Elliott E. Franks III, then director of the

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New Human Affairs head James Clyburn

osceola

"The mission of a modern newspaper is to comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable."

from a column by Peter Finley Dunn

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Politicus

Pug Ravenel's nightmare is over. It began four weeks ago when the South Carolina Supreme Court ruled that, regardless of the expressed will of the people, Ravenel was ineligible to continue as a candidate for governor under the residency provision of the state constitution. It ended Monday, October 21, when the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed the constitutionality of the state constitution's residency requirement -- eliminating the Ravenel candidacy's last chance for reprieve.

For Ravenel, it was a nightmare-come-true following on the heels of a dream-come-true. His have been personal highs and lows known to few.

In political times such as these, however, there is little time for dwelling on emotions. "Where do we go from here?" is the only relevant consideration. Just ask Millie Dorn.

The major immediate decision for Ravenel was what to do with the race for governor as it now stacks up. As a politician who has already articulated his desire to run again for high office, Ravenel had substantial conflicting pressure.

There was the fact that many of his strongest supporters had earlier Republican ties, and, faced with the prospect of Bryan Dorn, understandably leaned toward Jim Edwards. Outright support for Dorn, or any heavy invective against Edwards, would have upset these people, obviously.

Then there are the loyalist Democrats -- including some who did and many who did not support Ravenel in the primary. In a future electoral effort where the odds would be tighter than against Edwards, such as against Strom Thurmond perhaps in 1978, Ravenel reasons that he would need the loyalists' support. This year, the regulars expected Ravenel to endorse Dorn without qualification.

Finally, there are the liberal Democrats, the reformers who rallied around Ravenel and from whom Pug drew most of his troopers. The liberals tried to nominate "one of their own" at the special convention September 30, but didn't quite make it. Most view the choice between Dorn and Edwards as essentially no choice at all; most will vote for Dorn, even though it will hurt, only because they view Edwards as an extreme conservative with no more valid claim to a "reformer" label than Dorn has. This is a conclusion apparently shared by Ravenel.

But the liberals also felt strongly that

Ravenel should not and could not give Dorn enthusiastic support. To do so, in their view, would make a mockery of what has already been achieved under the Ravenel banner this year.

So Ravenel's decision to give qualified support to Dorn by writing in Dorn's name November 5 was calculated to deal with each of these pressures, while incurring the least possible damage to Ravenel's own personal popularity.

Beyond the immediacy of the Dorn-Edwards contest, there is the reality of the now escalated development of the reform "faction" within the South Carolina Democratic Party. How much of a role will Ravenel play in this process? Although some liberals have been less than happy with some of Ravenel's actions since his primary victory, virtually all want and expect Ravenel to exert leadership in the budding "reform movement."

And Ravenel talks like he intends to do just that. In his actions, particularly in the "write in Dorn" effort, he appears to be trying.

Between now and November 5, Ravenel will also be in a unique position to identify with and give considerable assistance to reform candidates around the state. If

"movement building" is on his mind, now would seem a critical time to move.

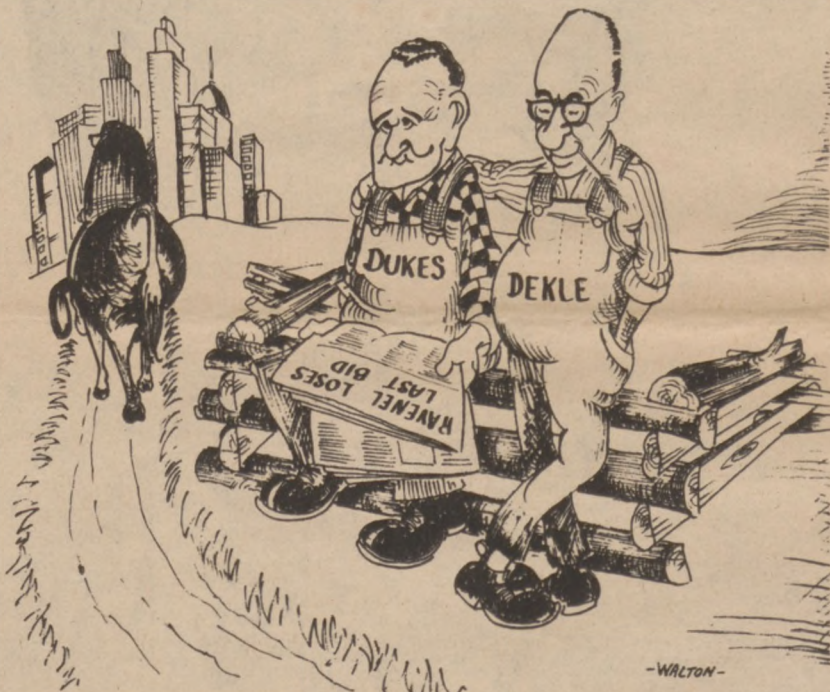
But regardless what happens from here on out, the impact of Pug Ravenel on South Carolina politics has clearly been already monumental. It would be difficult to think of any other individual whose influence has been so great over so short a period of time.

True, there were the beginnings of bona fide reform politics before Pug. But most of those who could be called reform advocates were consumed with the caution and hesitancy that come from being afraid of the people.

Pug proved that the people are not only ready for reform, but anxious for it. Not only is that long-dreamed-about progressive coalition possible; it happened this year, and in a very big way.

Now, all South Carolina's closet liberals are fearful no more. Indeed, in the past few weeks, particularly at the special convention, their enthusiasm has known no bounds. "Running around frothing at the mouth" was the way one grizzled old Democrat characterized it.

In short, Pug Ravenel has liberated South Carolina politics. It will never be the same. And for that, the man is deserving of our gratitude.



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Cheap Shots

Limehouse and Edwards dig in

The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers has disclosed that it will seek legal action against a firm, of which Republican gubernatorial nominee Senator James Edwards is a partner, for possible illegal dredge-and-fill operations and defiance of a Corps cease and desist order.

The Corps' Charleston district office will ask the U.S. District Attorney's office to prosecute the Hutchinson Island Partnership, an entity which the partners maintain was formed to buy and maintain Hutchinson Island for hunting purposes. Senator Edwards and state Rep. Sidi Limehouse (R-Charleston) are two of the firm's ten partners.

Edwards, an inactive partner in the Hutchinson Island Partnership, told *Osceola* that he has no part in the management of the island, which is left up to the managing partners (Limehouse and three other men). The Senator denied any knowledge of illegal practices and he promised to "rectify" any violations that are found.

The island borders on St. Helena Sound on the extreme coastal end of Colleton County. Once a continuous mixed marsh and highland island between the Ahepoo River and Rock Creek, Hutchinson Island is now cut in two separate halves by the Intracoastal Waterway.

According to records in the Colleton County courthouse, a tract containing 3,050 acres of highland and marshes on Hutchinson Island was purchased on September 16, 1971 by Hutchinson Island Partnership (HIP) for \$273,000 from William O. Hanahan and J. Ross Hanahan, Jr.

The courthouse records indicate that managing partners of HIP are Limehouse, Avram Kronsberg, H. Exo Hilton and Charles T. Fabian.

The Army Corps of Engineers are alleging that the partnership has violated the law by conducting dredge and fill operations on the island without obtaining a permit from the Corps which is required by law.

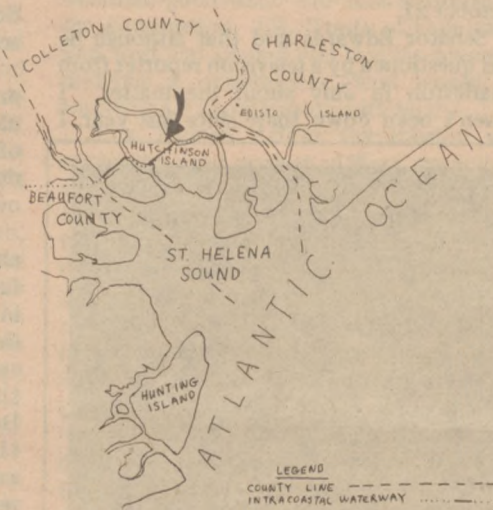
According to Ken Fagg in the operations office of the U.S. Corps of Engineers district headquarters in Charleston, diking operations in the tidal marshes of Hutchinson Island (see map) were reported to the Corps by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service in late July.

Fagg told *Osceola*, "on a field inspection we found that the draglines had been working in areas that were below mean high water." This brings diking activities under the jurisdiction of the Corps under section 10 of the 1899 Rivers and Harbors Act, which requires that a permit be obtained from the Corps for all alteration of areas below the mean high water mark.

Fagg asserted that six different creeks had been cut off by the dikes. "We felt that two of the creeks were below the mean high water mark. We have not done a survey, but we feel that at least two are below. Our staff made a visual determination that two were violations."

On August 8, 1974, a cease and desist order was issued by the Corps and the diking work was temporarily stopped. According to Fagg, recent high tides in the Hutchinson Island area had broken and eroded these dikes.

After receiving reports that machinery was again at work on these dikes, the Corps (Continued on page four)



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(Continued from page three)

made an on-site inspection on October 17, 1974, and determined that additional dragline work had indeed been performed in repairing the dikes. Fagg said, "They had topped areas we felt were below (mean high

water) and defied the cease and desist. It's in the hands of the U.S. Attorney."

Mary Ann Marwick, an attorney for the Corps, confirmed that this matter had been referred to the U.S. Attorney on Monday,

October 21.

Senator Edwards said that although he was questioned by a television reporter from Charleston in July about the matter, "I haven't been down there since last year. I

own 10 percent of the partnership, but Sidi and the others manage it. If we are doing something illegal, then we'll certainly rectify the situation."

Rep. Limehouse said he visits the island twice a week and, while he had told Edwards that he was going to "dam up the creek," Edwards had no direct knowledge of the action.

"The island is for duck hunting primarily," Limehouse said. "We are just utilizing good use management. By blocking off that stream we provide a good place for ducks in the winter. We provide places for over 25,000 ducks," Limehouse explained.

The House member also asserted that although he is familiar with the law and if fact introduced a bill dealing with tidelands in the legislature two years ago, "I didn't think we needed a permit in this case."

Limehouse was named earlier this year to the Environmental Coalition's "Dirty Dozen" list of legislators who opposed what the Coalition termed constructive environmental legislation. He said, "I received the cease and desist order, but it was after we had completed the pond."

Limehouse also said that he is going to fight the Corps because "I think I'm right in what I've done. I'm not afraid of the situation. If you talk to those sons of bitches (the Corps) tell them to call me. They haven't even had the courtesy to call me yet."

Where will Pug go from here?

Where does Pug Ravenel go now?

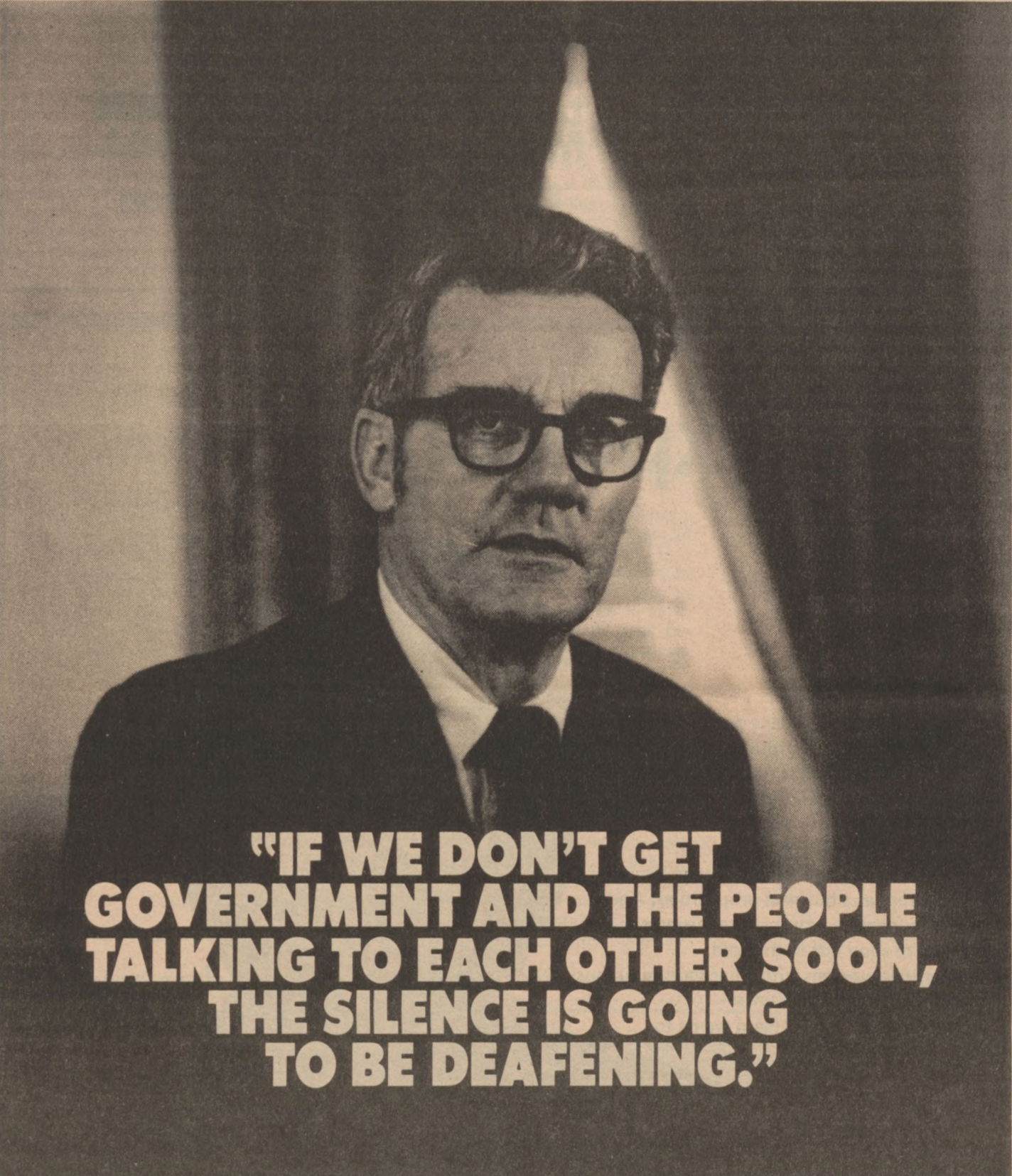
That question is perhaps the most frequently heard query in the state these days. Insiders at Ravenel's headquarters believe that Pug will take one of two routes.

The first is to retire to private life and earn the money to pay back the quarter of a million dollars in campaign debts he chalked up in his aborted try for the governor's mansion. Even though Ravenel has a great deal of expertise in financial matters as a result of his investment banking background, he privately estimates it will take him ten years to earn the money through his own personal efforts. According to Ravenel's closest associates the weight of this debt has plummeted the Charlestonian into a deep state of mental depression. When asked at a press conference if he was having to sell his stocks and bonds to repay the debt, Ravenel responded, "No. I'm having to sell my stocks and bonds to feed my family and to keep the electricity turned on."

But even with the weight of this debt on his mind the Puffer may soon run for political office again. Some of his closest associates are urging him to run for the state senate seat which would become vacant if Senator James Edwards wins the gubernatorial election. Some of Ravenel's advisors are vehemently opposed to the idea, though. They contend the Ravenel would be stepping down into the "minor leagues" should he run for Edwards' vacant seat. Other advisors believe, though, that it would give Ravenel a way to express his views and a vehicle for implementing some of the changes he talked about in the gubernatorial campaign.

Ravenel is faced with a dilemma. If Edwards wins, as Pug reportedly fears he will, Ravenel might be elected to Edwards' vacated Senate seat but it would be a costly victory. Ravenel has confessed to aides that Edwards as governor would counter all the progress this state has made in the past 100 years. On the other hand, if Edwards loses and Dorn is elected, Ravenel will not even have a state Senate seat to run for; instead, the earliest he could run for office would be 1976.

Pug's position, as expressed to his aides and to the public this week, is let's write in Dorn's name and show support for The Dream. If Dorn loses, we'll see....



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FOR COUNTY
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Human Affairs Commission...

(continued from page one)

Columbia Urban League. Williams said the four men took their plan and presented it to the major gubernatorial candidates, Republican Albert Watson and Democrat John West, for their reactions. Watson, who ran one of the most racist campaigns in recent South Carolina history, apparently rejected the idea of creating a commission that would spend much of its time helping blacks.

But West, by virtue of opposing Watson, naturally sought the black vote. Adopting the human affairs commission proposal as a major campaign plank, West strode into the Governor's Mansion on a tide of New South popularity. West stuck to his campaign pledge to fight discrimination by establishing the Governor's Advisory Commission on Human Relations a month after he took office in early 1971. Nineteen members, including several blacks, were appointed to the Commission, and George D. Hamilton, also a black, was named the first commissioner.

The new commission was given a good deal of favorable publicity. West called it an

attempt to help all South Carolinians "progress together in an atmosphere of Christian good will." The first chairman of the commission, J.W. Travis of Columbia, said West had assured him that the governor wanted a commission "that would do something," a commission with teeth.

The Human Affairs Commission was obviously a pet project of West, the sort of thing the Governor would undoubtedly like to be remembered for years from now. While Williams is careful to point out that the Commission was not "John Carl West's brainchild," the agency will stand out as one of the few liberal, black-oriented programs in the past four years. The Commission's function, as Clayton N. Gompf, Jr., the Commission's legal counsel, pointed out, is "identical to what EEOC can do." The federal Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, or EEOC, is aimed at eliminating discrimination because of race, sex, creed, etc., in the hiring and promotional policies of public and private employers.

If the Human Affairs Commission and the EEOC have the same function and jurisdiction, why then was the Commission

created? Is it a duplication of effort? Gompf said no. The EEOC has such a heavy backlog of complaints to deal with, Gompf said, that anyone wanting fairly speedy action should come to the Commission. (One former Commission worker took issue with Gompf's claim, saying that in the past the commissioner and deputy commissioner have "sat on" certain cases and delayed their resolution for long periods of time.)

Another reason the Commission exists, Gompf said is "to demonstrate...that we can keep our own house in order." Gompf said, it's basically a matter of pride - South Carolinians want to solve their own problems, without federal government stepping in and forcing them to do anything.

Despite all the praise, however, the Commission on Human Relations was only an advisory group, and had no powers other than publicity with which to fight discrimination. (The Commission from the outset was theoretically aimed at all forms of discrimination - racial, sexual, age, national origin, etc. - but it soon evolved an almost entirely racial function.) The commissioner, Hamilton, the chairman, Travis, and the 18 other commission members could use whatever personal power they had to fight discrimination, but basically the Commission on Human Relations was dependent on the good will of the discriminating persons or agencies. If that good will was non-existent, the Commission might find the application of its anti-bias policies very difficult.

In 1972, however, the Commission received full status from the legislature as a bona fide state governmental commission - a major step in its grasp for power. The name was changed to the South Carolina Human Affairs Commission, and certain powers and procedures were established in the Human Affairs Law for the Commission's operation. The fact that Hamilton (with West's aid) was able to get the Commission full status was significant. Isaac Williams of the state NAACP said recently, "In the main, George Hamilton's biggest advance was to get the commission from advisory to full status."

The change in status meant, among other things, that the Commission now has legal access to records which were earlier unavailable. But the Commission lacks financial control of the public agencies it must keep in line; denied this ultimate power, the Commission must rely on pressure from the Governor's office to persuade public agencies to end discriminatory practices. And in the private sector, the Commission's strongest tactic is still publicity - bringing to the attention of the public instances of discrimination in the hope that adverse publicity might bring the recalcitrant companies or persons into line.

The law which gives the present Commission its powers is decidedly vague and, many feel, weak. There is a general consensus of opinion among officials of the Commission and its critics that the Commission needs enforcement powers stronger than a verbal slap on the wrist. Yet there are also a number of persons who feel the Commission isn't doing all it can to fight discrimination with the available tools. They feel that the Commission's work is being hampered by politicking at the top, and that investigations of possible discrimination are sometimes squelched because of political considerations. One former employee told *Osceola* that "in many cases, it would appear that there were deliberate attempts to keep anything from being done."

With the recent appointment of James E. Clyburn as the new Human Affairs Commissioner, the Commission is entering a crucial period of growth. Clyburn, who replaced Hamilton after the latter resigned to go into private business, is a 34-year-old black and a former aid to the governor for human resources development. His appointment by West several weeks ago brought outcries from some blacks, who claimed that West appointed a personal favorite when there were more qualified men for the post who would have represented the state's black community better. Other critics, both black and white,

(continued on page six)



George Hamilton



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Human Affairs Commission...

(continued from page five)

complained that the Human Affairs Commission deserved better than a part-time commissioner (Clyburn is a part-time law student). And meanwhile the 19-member board of commissioners, which includes seven blacks and 12 whites, was also the target of feminists' criticism for allegedly excluding all but black males from consideration for the vacant commissionership. How the Commission and the new commissioner come out of this battle will have a great deal to do with whether the Commission becomes more powerful and activist, or less so.

Clay Gompf, the new deputy commissioner and legal counsel, explained the procedure that the Commission will follow when a complaint of discrimination is brought to it. The case is referred to one of the 19 commission members (appointed by the governor), who will attempt to conciliate between the two parties. If the original conciliation effort is unsuccessful, the member will request a hearing before three other commission members. The three-member hearing board will use the results of an investigation by Commission workers to formulate a plan of action, which it will recommend to the party accused of discrimination.

Gompf said that in almost all cases, either holding a public hearing or issuing publicity about the discrimination results in the matter being resolved. Naturally, any company or agency which works with the public and depends on public support must take into consideration the possibility of adverse public opinion that discrimination charges would bring. But Gompf admitted that if the problem isn't resolved by a public

hearing and conciliation efforts, the Commission can't do much more. "The Human Affairs Commission has considerable power to investigate complaints of discrimination," Gompf said. Publicity "has been very effective in resolving disputes," he continued, "but in the future it (the Commission) is going to need more power."

Jean H. Toal, a lawyer and member of the board of commissioners, agreed that the Commission needs more definitive powers with which to enforce anti-bias policies. "The law needs to be rewritten," she said, because "you can do all the investigation in the world but you have to have enforcement power."

Toal admitted that the Commission's ability to end discrimination disputes depends largely on the good will of persons accused of bias, and where that good will is lacking, the Commission is often powerless.

Since the Human Affairs Commission is basically an investigatory and conciliatory group without enforcement powers, it must rely on other state organs to put pressure on parties that refuse to hire or promote blacks, women, etc. And so far the major executive arm that the Commission has had to use is the governor's office. The governor, of course, is able to bring a great deal of pressure to bear, through the threat of vetoing legislation beneficial to a discriminatory agency and the other means which the governor has perennially used to influence the operation of state agencies and companies which contract to do work for the state. That reliance by the Commission on the governor opens up the Commission to the possibility of a great deal of political opportunism, which critics quickly point

out. If the Human Affairs Commission is dependent on the governor, those critics say, the Commission might be hesitant to step on the toes of any public or private parties to whom the governor owes political favors. And if the Human Affairs Commissioner is politically ambitious and is also a friend of the governor, the critics continue, he might tend to be lax in pressuring any of his or the governor's political friends to mend their biased ways.

Persons within and outside of the Commission admit that it has become political to a degree, and they of course say that they regret that politicalization.

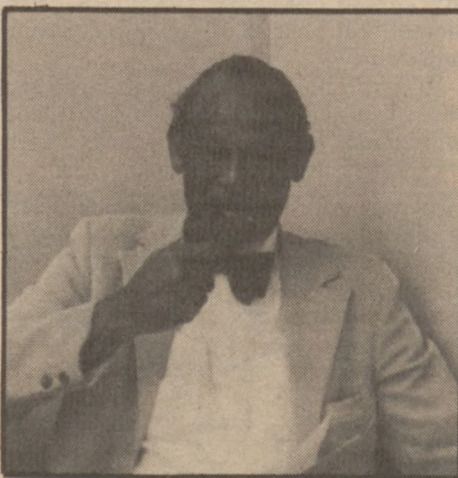
Clyburn, the new commissioner, worked in the governor's office from January 1971 until several weeks ago; Hamilton, who preceded Clyburn, was also on West's staff prior to becoming Human Affairs Commissioner.

Isaac Williams of the NAACP, who

competed strongly with Clyburn for the recently vacant commissionership, disagreed with the idea that because the two commissioners so far have come from the governor's office, they necessarily have bent to the governor's whims. "Hamilton was under tremendous pressure from the governor's office" to do what the governor wanted, Williams said, but the past commissioner still "tread on some toes." Williams specifically mentioned anti-bias Affirmative Action Plans which Hamilton strongly pressured the state Department of Education and the Attorney General's office to adopt. But he suggested that Clyburn might not be as independent as Hamilton was.

The struggle between Clyburn and Williams for the commissionership provides the most dramatic example of the politicalization of the Commission. It's a long and confusing story, but here is generally what happened: The Governor originally proposed Rev. I. DeQuincey Newman to the Commission's nominating committee, but the committee turned down Newman. (The Commission first nominates someone for the vacant post, and then the governor must confirm that person.) Williams was the Commission's favorite but before Williams could be formally nominated, West apparently made it known that he would not confirm Williams. Clyburn, the Governor's second favorite, was then nominated by the Commission and confirmed by West.

From the beginning, there appeared virtually no chance of West approving Williams for the commissionership. Williams, state NAACP field director since 1969, has repeatedly been critical of West's



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Call theatre for school group rates

race policies in the last five years, once accusing the Governor of tokenism. "The Governor would have preferred appointing anyone but me to that commission," Williams told *Osceola* recently. West's official reasons for rejecting Williams were not made public, but Williams claimed that an investigation that the State Law Enforcement Division had made into Williams' background showed a previous bad check charge and other "reservations."

One observer, a former Commission employee, called West's apparent reservations about Williams specious, saying that the charges only served as a smokescreen for the Governor's personal distaste for Williams. The source said that the bad check charge wasn't serious enough itself to disqualify Williams, and asked, "How many people do you know who have had a check bounce?" Williams himself said the appointment "should have never become a political football, but it did."

Clyburn, interviewed recently by *Osceola*, agreed that the appointment had had obvious political connotations. But he denied that his association with West had got

Commissioner could bring a sizeable number of black voters into their respective folds.

Just how much clout the new commissioner has with blacks is a matter of much debate. Williams contended that one reason the Human Affairs Commission hasn't been as effective as it could be is that blacks, as the chief victims of discrimination, don't see the Commission as a viable solution to their problems. While the Commission needs broad popular support and confidence if it is to fight discrimination, Williams said, "the confidence level of the Commission is rather low. Black people would rather come to the NAACP." And Williams took issue with Clyburn's claims that he can deliver black votes, pointing to what he considers Dorn's poor showing in predominantly black voting areas as evidence that Clyburn *didn't* deliver in July. "Dorn turned black folk off," the NAACP official claimed, and Clyburn's endorsement of Dorn thus may lead to a further erosion of the new commissioner's black support.

If political considerations and the lack of adequate enforcement power are not enough in themselves to damage the Human Affairs Commission, there are more problems. The Columbia chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) recently attacked the Commission for sexual and racial discrimination. All five persons under consideration for the commissionship -- Clyburn, Williams, Milton Kimpson, Milton Greene, and S.T. Peden -- are black men, prompting NOW to level charges of discrimination against the anti-bias agency. Eunice (Tootsie) Holland, local NOW president, issued a statement saying, "Sometime back we were informed that the commission planned to hire a black male as commissioner for 'political reasons.' Apparently this is indeed the case."

Clyburn came under fire also because he is part-time law student at the University of South Carolina. Clyburn responded to the criticism by saying that he would only take two hours of classes per day until December 15, at which time he would drop out of law school, and he said he would be paid only 75 percent on his regular salary while still in law school. But his critics weren't that easily appeased. Williams replied, "I'm certain that the people of South Carolina deserve better than a part-time commissioner." And a black woman said she felt insulted because the only state agency headed by a black would not have qualified, full-time leadership.

Several prominent blacks expressed concern at the direction the Human Affairs Commission is heading, fearing if the Commission isn't successful, the state's whites will attribute the failure to black incompetence. And they don't want South Carolina's first predominantly black agency to falter because of politics or lack of power.

**"It's very simple.
Everybody's got
some favorites."
Jim Clyburn**

him the \$20,330 a year job, and he also said that his supporters were not only ones using their influence on behalf of a candidate. "It's very simple," he said of West's appointment of him. "Everybody's got some favorites." Clyburn accused Democratic lieutenant gubernatorial candidate Brantley Harvey and former governor Robert McNair of calling commission members on behalf of Williams. (John H. Lumpkin, chairman of S.C. National Bank and a former Commission member, also contacted members on Williams' behalf, one source revealed.)

The backers of the two men appear more interesting in light of Clyburn's public support of Congressman Bryan Dorn in the Democratic gubernatorial primary, and Williams' endorsement of Dorn's opponent in that race, Earle E. Morris. As one observer put it, "It looks like they both had the support of the white political establishment." Apparently, both Dorn and Morris were jockeying for later political support, hoping that the new Human Affairs

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NATIONAL TOPICS

TRB
FROM WASHINGTON

The Tarnished Age

Richard Nixon is pardoned, Leon Jaworski is gone. Anybody can see how Watergate is going to end. It's going to be smudged. That's the story of the era between Kennedy and Nixon. There have been good times, great times, but so many of them flawed. And then smudged. That's how we do things.

Take the war. In 1964, just 10 years ago exactly, LBJ was telling us that we couldn't trust Goldwater -- he would escalate. Lyndon said the war should be fought by Asian boys, not American boys. He said it in New York, New Hampshire, Texas: "We are not going to send American boys nine or 10 thousand miles away from home to do what Asian boys ought to be doing for themselves!" So then he got a landslide, and he sent American boys. That was the story of the era. Treat the people as children. Don't trust them. Johnson had been on his way to a place in history as a great president with his vision of the Great Society, but he cooked up the Tonkin Gulf incident, and emergency war powers, and the vote in Congress was 504 to 2. Only two men voted against him. Neither was returned to the Senate. Who will put up a plaque for Gruening and Morse in the Capitol Hall of Fame?

We were lied into the war; we elected Nixon to lie us out of it, to get us "peace with honor." We couldn't face the fact that we had made a mistake. It was better to keep the war going that extra four years than to lose face. The 1968-72 heroes who gave their lives, 20,000 of them, didn't die to spread liberty. You couldn't do that with Thieu as dictator. They didn't die to make America stronger; the war gave us roaring inflation; they died so we wouldn't have to admit that we had made a mistake. They had to die.

But it was embarrassing, too. There was a draft system in which the rich boys went to college and the poor boys went to Vietnam. There were demonstrations and some people were shot, as at Kent State. (Embarrassing.) And it was embarrassing that the most powerful nation couldn't break the will of a backward little country whose soldiers wore black pyjamas. The pictures of little children running bawling with their clothes burnt off by napalm; that was embarrassing. And the My Lai massacre was embarrassing,

but we smudge that. The brass was let off and we'll get Lt. Calley off, too; give us time.

For a decade it was like that. Always something bitter, like aloes. And then Watergate. You son will ask you what it was like in those days. Embarrassing, you will tell him. Voters gave Nixon the biggest majority in history. They rejected McGovern because he was too soft, and then discovered that Nixon had been lying to them all the time. The latest tape says he told Haldeman to sacrifice some subordinate: "Give the investigators an hor d'oeuvre," he chuckled, "maybe they won't come back for the main course" (meaning Nixon). He embarrassed the Democrats who respected the presidency. He embarrassed his defenders in Congress.

All the way from Kennedy to Nixon it was the same; it was in many ways a good era; it might have been a great era, but always it was flawed. "For once there was a fleeting wisp of glory -- called Camelot." That ended with a shot. There was the Great Society. That ended with a war. There was Bobby Kennedy, who grew before our eyes from a tough boy to a strong man, and that ended with another murder. And in civil rights battle the blacks produced a great prophet-leader, Martin Luther King. He had to go, too. Always there was a flaw at the center of things.

Where did it start? From many causes, of course. One was from living in an unreal world. It was there in the belief that we were always victorious and always righteous. Over generations, a belief grew -- that Asiatics were a special mission of the United States, as historian Eric Goldman said, under the laws of history. Sen. Kenneth Wherry (R-Nebraska) put it prettily when he told a wildly cheering crowd in 1940, "With God's help we will lift Shanghai up and up, ever up, until it is just like Kansas City."

Then suddenly we had to change our patronizing vision of Asiatics as little, deferential yellow men perpetually smiling, to treacherous, cruel Orientals making part of a menacing Communistic monolith. We had "lost" China; evidently we were betrayed. Joe McCarthy used that charge and Nixon, too. Historian Sam Morison wrote, "McCarthy himself collapsed, but the poisonous suspicion he injected

into the body politic will take many years to leach out."

Exactly; hear young congressman Nixon describing the Acheson-Hiss relationship: "Traitors in the high councils of our own government have made sure that the deck is stacked on the Soviet side of the diplomatic tables." Respectables like Bob Taft and Gen. Eisenhower encouraged the rising Nixon to denounce "Dean Acheson's College of Cowardly Communist Containment." Tell the public anything; they are children.

Mark Twain looked at the period after the Civil War, the era of wealth and expansion, the era of Jay Gould and Jim Fisk and the scandals of Grant, and he came up with a name for it; it wasn't real gold, he said; it was The Gilded Age. What are we going to call this one?

It was so good in so many ways! We saw social improvements and a lift in living standards, and an awakening of conscience about environment and our incredible waste: six percent of world population using a third of its energy. There were magnificent moments -- the landing on the Moon! Yet at the same time, we could not impose our will on Congress to reform the tax system. Always the surface that might have shone so brightly never seemed to. It was tarnished.

In our embarrassment and malaise we couldn't face things squarely; we had to smudge things. There was the elaborate falsification of the bombing runs in Cambodia, we smudged that; and the CIA in Chile, we smudged that; and the lies former attorney general Richard Kleindienst told the grand jury, we smudged that; and the knavery of the Vice President; we smudged that good. The man LBJ wanted as chief justice -- left under the cloud of an indiscretion; the men Nixon wanted on the high court, what's-his-name and you-know-who -- they were dropped. And then Nixon quit and Jerry fixed it with the best smudge of all: the pardon smudge.

Mark Twain knew the trick: you can pillory with a name. That was so in the days of dross -- the Gilded Age. This is the age that might have been sterling - bright and wasn't. The Tarnished Age.

JACK ANDERSON AND THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

WASHINGTON -- Recent press reports claim that King Faisal of Saudi Arabia and the shah of Iran have been discussing strategy to lower world oil prices.

We have confirmed that discussions are going on among officials of the two nations. But it is unlikely the planning will get past the discussion stage.

There is little doubt, say our sources, that King Faisal would like to lower oil prices. But the shah is interested only in enriching his vast stores of wealth. He has become one of the world's most recklessly greedy, unbelievably rich rulers.

Indeed, it looks as if the oil crisis has turned the shah into America's Frankenstein monster. Back in 1957, Iranian Premier Mohammed Mossadeh threatened to overthrow the shah. But our own Central Intelligence Agency stepped in and helped oust Mossadeh from office instead.

Thus, the shah owes his throne to the United States. Yet he has led the charge for higher prices inside the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). And he has consistently pressed for still higher prices, even though it could gravely injure the West.

Our CIA sources tell us the agency still has strong ties with the shah. Extensive intelligence-gathering facilities are located in Iran and former CIA Director Richard Helms is the U.S. ambassador there.

Recently, the shah dispatched troops to Oman to help the shiek fight Communist-backed guerrilla forces. Oman, of course, controls the entrance to the Persian Gulf, through which oil tankers from the Middle East must pass.

The shah's excursion into Oman, we are told, was inspired by the CIA. In short, we not only saved his throne, but continue to support him to this day. Yet he has turned a deaf ear to U.S. appeals that he help bring down oil prices.

In contrast, King Faisal has tried to use his influence with other oil-producing countries to reduce oil costs. He has even written a private letter to the shah, according to

intelligence reports, warning that neither kingdom will last if the West is plunged into depression by exorbitant oil prices. The king fears that the Communists will exploit economic chaos in the oil-consuming Western industrial nations.

Overdue Housecleaning

The Watergate crowd may be out of the White House, but at the General Services Administration the scandals linger on.

Last March, for example, we reported that the GSA, in an "exchange" agreement with Rockwell International, had acquired a gigantic \$20 million building at Laguna Niguel, Calif. The deal was struck, apparently, to provide a warehouse for the presidential papers of then President Richard Nixon. His San Clemente estate is only 10 miles away from the massive building.

Our story was vehemently denied by GSA spokesman Richard Vawter, who accused us of practicing "jaundiced journalism." Now, however, the Washington Post has confirmed our story. After three years of searching, the Post reported, the GSA has been able to rent out only 2 per cent of the facility.

It was the GSA, moreover, that spent millions of tax dollars to improve the Nixon properties in San Clemente and Key Biscayne. Among the expenditures were thousands of dollars for landscaping and gardening services, and even \$20,000 for a shark net that stretched far enough to protect the beach front of Bebe Rebozo's home, next door.

Even hiring at the GSA was influenced by political considerations. The Civil Service Commission has recommended that disciplinary action be taken against a half dozen top GSA officials. The reason: They allegedly "subverted the merit system" to put political appointees in top slots.

Despite the scandals, GSA Administrator Arthur

The ingrate of Iran

Sampson and his cronies have managed to hang on to their lucrative jobs. Our probe of the GSA, also known as the "federal housekeeping agency," suggests that its own house is in sore need of cleaning.

Food Profits

Something is out of whack in the food industry. The wholesale price of beef has sunk so low, for example, that farmers in Wisconsin have killed over 500 calves in protest. Other cattle slaughters have been threatened. Destroying the calves, the farmers claimed, would be cheaper than raising them.

Despite the wholesale price skid, beef prices at the supermarkets continue to soar. Many congressmen suspect that the supermarket chains are taking advantage of the shortage psychology to reap exorbitant profits.

A look at the food stores' profits is instructive. A&P's earnings are running 17 times higher than a year ago. And Safeway stores wound up the last quarter with a 100 per cent profit increase.

The food chain economists can expect to be called upon the congressional carpet to explain why the supermarket chains are profiting so handsomely from the nation's worsening economic plight.

Washington Whirl

Jack Kemp, the former football pro and Republican congressman from Buffalo, says the public has already forgotten he was an ardent Nixon supporter, but they still remember he was one of the finest quarterbacks Buffalo ever produced...Best selling muckraker Ovid Demaris is the only famous American around with two entries in "Who's Who." He's listed under his real name, Ovid Desmaris, as well as his pseudonym. Despite his calls and letters, "Who's Who" persists with the double entry... In a gesture to Women's Liberation, some big businesses now refer to their typing pools as "word processing units".

Sports/Soccer

The local booters square off

by Bob Conly

Soccer is one of the sports that, while relatively new to the United States, is bound to grow in popularity on the college campuses. It does not require a great outlay of money to get a soccer program started; that means that small schools and schools with tight athletic budgets or traditional-minded athletic directors can still compete with the larger, wealthier schools. Witness Clemson's soccer success. The Tigers have one of the top three or four teams in the nation, despite relatively meagre funding compared to the big three traditional sports.

A local rivalry which is developing is between Columbia Bible College and the University of South Carolina. Both schools still have comparatively new soccer programs. CBS's team of 25 players includes about ten percent of the student body. USC's team is still a club, rather than an official varsity sport, which would mean greater funding. The lack of funds means also that USC must rely on the talents of volunteer coaches.

But if the two teams lack anything in money or other support, you wouldn't guess it when they meet on a soccer field. Both teams are highly competitive and tough.

Last week's game between USC and CBC, their first meeting of the year, was no exception to the hard-knocks style of play both teams are used to. The Gamecocks won a 4-2 decision, thanks to three goals by

striker Ken McCord. The win gave USC's soccer club a seasonal record of two wins, four losses and a tie. It was CBC's first game of the year.

USC had started off the season in fine fashion, scoring 30 goals in two preseason games and the first regular season contest. But then came a slump, which was touched off by leg injuries to key players. Those injuries were still somewhat bothersome in the game against Columbia Bible College, and CBC was fresh, but USC was too strong.

About 200 students from Columbia Bible College came to the USC soccer field to cheer their team. The CBC fans cheered wildly whenever the CBC offense drove down toward the USC goal.

The two teams played evenly for the first few minutes of the game, as USC played with a strong wind to its advantage. USC's McCord scored the first goal of the game when, with six minutes elapsed, striker John Rosier took the ball in front of the CBC goal, faked a shot, and backheeled the ball to McCord, who was racing unguarded toward the goal. The CBC goalie was unable to stop McCord's low, hard shot.

But CBC came right back with a goal. After the CBC offense kept the ball dangerously close to the USC goal, Keith Paulson passed to Andy Halbert, whose score with 17 minutes gone knotted the game at one goal apiece. At this point, the teams seemed evenly matched, and the early

play gave hint to a high scoring match.

Later in the first period, USC's McCord scored again on another pass from Rosier. At halftime, the statistics showed USC dominating the game, with 10 shots on goal compared to CBC's four.

USC's offensive power showed up even more in the second half, and CBC's defense was kept busy. With 18 minutes gone in the period, the Rosier-to-McCord scoring combination clicked again, making the score 3-1. The score, McCord's third of the day, gave him five for the season. Four minutes later, USC wingman Howard Crossan slammed a volley shot into the goal on a high pass across the goal mouth from Rosier.

Columbia Bible got its final goal when Carl Jennings, USC's substitute goalie, bobbled a shot by CBC's Bill Hardy and let the ball trickle into the goal.

USC's dominance in the second half was underscored by the final statistics, which showed the Gamecocks making 17

second-half shots to CBC's six.

After the game, USC assistant coach Dick Fernald, who was running the team while head coach Yank Albers was scouting high school players in the Washington area, praised his team's play. The team had been working during the week on getting its strikers to pass better, Fernald said, and he added that Rosier's assists on all four goals showed the practice had paid off.

In the second game of the afternoon, the USC "B" team tried the tough Florida State Soccer Club, 0-0, in a game which featured good defensive play by USC. In other local action, the Columbia Men's Soccer Team defeated Florida State the following day, 3-2. The win sets the stage for the November 24 match between the USC Soccer Club and the Columbia Men's Team, undefeated and averaging almost seven goals a game.

So soccer is on the rise in Columbia, and it looks like the "new" sport is here to stay.

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Bob Green's real 'zero budget' campaign

by Dick Harpootlian

"I'm not willing to let people do the passive thing and sit back on their fannies. People think if they turn out every two years and vote that they've fulfilled their civic duty. Well, they haven't."

Bob Green is 26, a law student and has never before run for any political office. Yet he announced this week that he is dissatisfied with the choice for House member offered by the established political parties in his district, Richland County House District 76, and that he is waging "a zero expenditure, write-in campaign."

"I was complaining to a friend of mine that I didn't really feel there was any real kind of choice between the Democratic and Republican candidates for the House in my district," Green explained. "So he said, 'Why don't you just write your own name in?' So I thought about it and decided that if I could see and talk to enough people and convince them to write my name in also, then I could win."

Green is challenging Democratic nominee Betty Sloan, a Columbia attorney, and Republican incumbent businessman John LaFitte. He said that this is the first time he knows of that a write-in challenger has run for the House in this state on "a zero budget." That means what it implies -- Green will spend no money.

"And if I win," the young law student said, "I will not owe one penny to anyone and I'll owe my election to the people of my district."

Green explained that he believed that most people didn't



Bob Green

know what House district they are in under the new single member district House reapportionment plan. He has spent several evenings walking through the district talking to his constituents in their homes and he said he has received encouragement from a good number of the over 100 families with whom he has talked. He did concede that his election is a long

shot, but he was unwilling to say it was hopeless. "The way I look at it, the odds against me are high, but not insurmountable. Why not try?"

Green was critical of his opponents' approach to campaigning which he says is indicative of the manner in which they will represent their district. "Most people take the easy way out. They spent a lot of money on billboards, letters, stickers, barbecues and all the rest. It's the wrong way to do things. It's wrong."

He said he would not use any of the traditional political accoutrements. He explained, "There will be no flyers or bumper stickers. Where do you stop? You're limited only by how much you can personally afford. Hell, if my name was Kennedy I could buy the election."

Green said one of the issues in the campaign is "who would do the better job." He said, "I feel confident that I could do a better job than either of the other two people running."

"I worked as a volunteer for Ravenel during the Democratic primary canvassing neighborhoods in this district. These people are concerned with two issues: inflation and education. Now there's not too much I can do about inflation, but I will work to improve our educational system."

But the main issue, Green believes, is how the campaign is run. "If we can do it this way -- as a write-in with no expenditures, then we've done something. We've

shown that you don't have to go the old route of spending a lot of money," he explained.

Because of his lack of experience Green is a little nervous in dealing with many of the necessary political trappings. "I am not a politician. For instance, I feel really uncomfortable talking to

you and watching you write it down."

But in the next few days Bob Green will be going from door to door in his House district, meeting and listening to the people. And if he can win he will have pulled off one of the most curious victories in the state's political history.

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Events/entertainment

(Continued from page twelve)

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CAMPUS FILMS

These movies are free to students Saturday through Wednesday. On Thursday and Friday there is a \$1 charge. Non-students admitted as guests of students only. All films are shown at the Russell House Theatre at 7 and 9:30 p.m.

Friday, October 25

"The Long Goodbye," directed by Robert Altman of M*A*S*H fame, stars Elliot Gould and Nina Van Pallandt. Gould plays Phillip Marlowe, Raymond Chandler's super sleuth of the 30's.

Saturday, October 26

"I.F. Stone" and "The War Game" The latter is an anti-war film which looks at the effects of a short but lethal nuclear war.

Sunday, October 27

"Point Blank" stars Lee Marvin and Angie Dickinson. Marvin, the anti-hero learns there is no honor among thieves.

Monday, October 28

"Les Biches," is a French film with English subtitles. An idyllic menage a trois ends in murder and mental breakdown.

Tuesday, October 29

"Chepuyer" is this week's selection in the Soviet Film Series.

Wednesday, October 30

"Horror of Dracula" and "The Invisible Man" are the Halloween eve flicks. Check with theatre for show times and locations.

Thursday, October 31

"Paper Moon" starring Ryan O'Neal and his Academy award winning daughter, Tatum. The two get together to form an unlikely con team. Directed by Peter Bogdanovich.

music

Stevie Wonder will appear in concert at the Charlotte Coliseum October 26 at 8 p.m. Also featured are Wonderlove and Rufus. Tickets are \$5, \$6 and \$7. Call the Coliseum for further information.

Fort Jackson will host a Harmony through Music rock festival October 28 at the post's Patton Stadium. Entertainment, which will be provided by Ray Charles, Diana Trask, the Spurrllows, the Liberations and several area groups, will be continuous from 10 a.m. until 7 p.m. For further information call Bill Welch, post public information officer, at 751-7659.

Traffic will perform at the Carolina Coliseum October 30 at 7:30 p.m. Special guest is John Martyn. Tickets are now on sale at the Coliseum ticket outlets for \$4, \$5 and \$6. For further information call the Coliseum box office, 777-5113.

politics

Pug Ravenel and Alex Sanders, will appear at a rally in support of Second Congressional District candidate Matthew Perry, and House candidates Jean Toal (District 75) and Bill Campbell (District 72) on Wednesday, October 30 at 6:30 p.m. on USC's Horseshoe. A live band will be featured, before a few remarks from the politicians.

The Columbo episode filmed on location at The Citadel and other parts of Charleston last summer will be shown Sunday, October 27 on WIS-TV, channel 10, at 8:30 p.m. Peter Falk, as Columbo, will be seen puffing his cigar and snooping around the familiar campus and port city streets trying to trap a clever colonel suspected of murder. The show, entitled, "By Dawn's Early Light," guest stars Patrick McGoohan as an overbearing military academy commandant. The commandant foresees an end to his "command" at Haynes Military Academy, as The Citadel is called, and tries to save his position with a thoroughly thought-out homicide. But Columbo with his perseverance sidesteps the commandant's military maneuvers and catches him cold.



specials

The Fifth Annual Decorative Arts and Architecture Symposium will be held at the Columbia Museum of Art October 29 through 30. Speakers include Edith Appleton Standen, international authority on textiles and 18th century homes, Dr. Wayne Craven, art history professor at the University of Delaware, Dr. John Bryan, art history professor at the University of South Carolina, Carl C. Dauterman, curator "emeritus" at the Museum of Modern Art, David Howard and Dr. George C. Rogers, history professor at the University of South Carolina. There is a \$35 registration fee. For further information call the Columbia Museum of Art, 254-2791.

The South Carolina Numismatic Association will hold its Second Annual Convention and coin show November 1 through 3 at the Carolina Inn. The event will feature award-winning exhibits, and 65 dealers will be present. There will be free coin appraisals and drawings for two gold pieces and a television. Admission is free.

theatre

Workshop Theatre's production of *Godspell* is being held over through November 3. For reservations and further information call the theatre at 252-5756 between noon and 5 p.m.

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cinema

If you're thinking of going to a movie, better call ahead to verify time and feature since many area theatres are subject to change after our deadline.

SPECIAL NOTE

The ABC Southeastern Theatres (in Columbia this includes the Palmetto Theatre, Richland Mall Theatre and Starlite Drive-In) announce that as of October 25 all persons under the age of 14 will be admitted for the children's price.

ATLANTIC I THEATRE, 3220 Two Notch Road, 786-0790

"Equinox" and "Joshua and the Blob" should be good for the kiddies. Rated G, shows at 3:20, 5:20, 7:20 and 9:20.

ATLANTIC II THEATRE, 3220 Two Notch Road, 786-0790

"Miner's Wives" and "Full-time Females" are this week's double feature. Wonder what kind of job those females have? Rated X with shows continuous from 3:30 p.m. the last complete show is at 9 p.m.

CAROLINA THEATRE, 1223 Main Street, 252-8011

"They Call Her One Eye" boasts that it was the first movie banned in Sweden in 14 years. Plus "Sugar Hill," which is about a woman and her zombie hit men. Both promise lots of violence. Shows at 1, 4:15 and 7:25. "Texas Chain Saw Massacre" starts Sunday and claims to be the most violent movie ever shown in Columbia. Great!! Rated R, shows will be at 1, 3, 5, 7 and 9.

CINE-ART THEATRE, 1017 Washington Street, 779-3039

"Pornography in New York" should be a sophisticated X-rated film since New York is the porno capital of the nation. Also a second big feature. Shows are continuous from 1 p.m. with the last complete feature at 9.

DUTCH SQUARE NORTH THEATRE, Dutch Square Mall, 798-1110

"Homebodies" is about a group of elderly people who are about to be evicted from their homes. They have no where to go, so they just kill the evictors! Their motto is "A murder a day keeps the landlord away." Rated PG, shows at 1, 3, 5, 7 and 9.

DUTCH SQUARE SOUTH THEATRE, Dutch Square Mall, 798-1110

"Gone With the Wind," the all-time classic that romanticizes antebellum South and the Civil War. Rated G, show times are 2 and 7:30.

FOX THEATRE, 1607 Main Street, 254-5212

"Harry and Tonto" is a comedy starring Art Carney and a cat. This one walked away with the Best Picture and Best Actor awards at the Atlanta Film Festival. It is part of the Fall Fine Film Festival and should be good. Rated R, shows at 1, 3, 5, 7 and 9.

GAMECOCK I THEATRE, Parkland Plaza Shopping Center, 796-0022

"The Sting," rated PG, returns to Columbia. After its long run the first time, it's hard to believe there are many people who haven't seen the movie at least once! Paul Newman and Robert Redford star in this winner of 7 Academy Awards. Shows at 2:15, 4:30, 6:45 and 9.

GAMECOCK II THEATRE, Parkland Plaza Shopping Center, 796-0022

"The Groove Tube," a biting attack on

television, is playing for its last weekend. Rated R, shows at 2, 3:30, 5, 6:30, 8 and 9:30.

JEFFERSON SQUARE THEATRE, Jefferson Square, Downtown, 254-6731

"The Longest Yard" promises to have a long run in town. Star Burt Reynolds is a pro football player who goes to prison. Shows at 2, 4:30, 7 and 9:15.

MIRACLE THEATRE, 1228 Main Street, 256-1950

"Airport 1975" has about as many stars as it does crises. But rest assured, Charlton Heston is around to save the day. Shows at

1:10, 3:15, 5:20, 7:25 and 9:30. The Friday and Saturday midnight show is "Midnight Cowboy."

PALMETTO THEATRE, 1417 Main Street, 254-5800

"Dirty Mary, Crazy Larry," rated PG, stars Peter Fonda and Susan George. This is another rerun and it doesn't sound any more promising the second time around. Shows at 3, 4:35, 6:10, 7:45 and 9:20. The Late Show for Friday and Saturday is Kurt Vonnegut's "Slaughterhouse-Five." Show time is 11:15.

PLAZA III THEATRE, 1323 Main Street,

254-7960

"Phase IV," rated PG, is a science-fiction flick. It is supposed to be something like the "Hellstrom Chronicle," the movie about insects. Shows at 1, 2:40, 6, 7:40 and 9:20. Starting Wednesday is "The Gambler," starring James Cann (Sonny in "The Godfather") and Lauren Hutton (the famous model).

RICHLAND MALL THEATRE, Richland Mall, 782-2228

"Conrack," rated G, is about a teacher in a black, poverty-stricken area. Starring Jon

(Continued on page eleven)

STOP!



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with special guest John Martyn

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